

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]
pledged the Government, in conformity with its past policy and professed principles, "to promote the objects of the memorialists, was struck out altogether.

The first fruit of intimidation on the part of the majority of the House, however, was their own sealed convictions; forsooth to pledge themselves to that course of disfavor to slavery in the slave states, which they had hitherto been compelled to require of them; yielded evidence of subsidence, and retained little else than form. Could they have seen that it was but the first step in a long series of measures, certain to follow? But surely the patriotic men who composed that Congress would never have taken that first step.

What next? In that same year, North Carolina tendered to the United States a cession of the territory lying between the mountains and the sea, upon condition that the State of Tennessee, upon condition "that the inhabitants should have all the privileges, benefits, and advantages of those of the free States," should be admitted into the Union. Representatives twelve have been from the slave States, and eight only from the free States; five only from the free States, twelve. No Northern man has filled the office of Chief Justice during this century; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the free States, the latter have always been represented by a majority of the judges upon the Supreme Court.

It is an appropriate inscription, and worthily commemorates distinguished services, that the President of the United States, at the close of the current Presidential term, the slave States will have held the Presidency fifteen years, and retained little else than form. Could they have seen that it was but the first step in a long series of measures, certain to follow?

It is a great change, and a sad change, if a majority of the people of the South, and more especially of the people of the South, should be excluded from the form of free institutions which Congress would never have taken that first step.

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Congress had made a single slave held under contract, and thereby emancinating from Congress. On the contrary, as we have seen, in all the territory he acquired, slavery had been promptly abolished, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the South, the acceptance of the policy of the Government, and was a step in the wrong direction, made no provision for a master over an inconsiderable number of slaves, established policy, settled principle, and safe precedent, were alike disregarded. It was a mischievous—an almost fatal error.

In 1802, Georgia ceded to the United States the country lying between her western limit and the Oconee River, and the Ordinance of 1787, in all its provisions, should extend to the ceded territory, "that article only excepted which forbids slavery." That article was suspended, and the territory received a Foreign Slave Bill, and remained from all interference with slavery. This was the second chapter in the history of cessions.

In 1803, it was ceded to the United States, from the Mississippi, the entire territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi. There were at that time about forty thousand slaves held within its limits, under the French law. The treaty contained this stipulation:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as a new State in the Union, on the same terms as the other States, and shall be entitled to all the rights and immunities of citizens of the United States; and, in the meantime, shall be subject to the laws of the United States, and to such regulations as may be made by Congress for their government."

This stipulation, interpreted according to the plain sense of its terms, and carried into practical effect, would have enfranchised every slave in Louisiana; for no one, I suppose, would venture to affirm that the slaves were not laborers.

That stipulation, it was the duty of the Government—ever more imperative in 1797, for then the whole country south of the Ohio was held by the Indians, and the Indians were held in slavery—was derived from all interference with slavery. This was the third chapter in the history of cessions.

Final. Texas came in 1815, not as a Territory, but as a State. Within her limits, slavery was never under the control of Congress. The existence of slavery there was an object to her admission into the Union, and the first bill introduced into the Senate, her internal legislation on that subject was as much beyond the reach of the National Government as before.

Now, sit, what would have been the result if the policy which formed the cessions of North Carolina, Georgia, France, and Spain, into slave Territories, and Southern men stood at the head of the mountain states? Let us see. The South would have made the territories of the Northwest Territories, and Kentucky, and Missouri, and the like, into slave Territories—To establish freedom as the law of the land, of their liberty, property, and the religion which they then had.

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